226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle (more probably a part of the handle) could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to'koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi'če tu'h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

226 Weirs of willow were set across rivers or streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

226 A favorite method of catching fish in
278 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were used. One, ta'dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya'oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

---

[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

[P. 976] Wukchumni

624 756 [683] Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi'auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

[P. 111 a] Wukchumni

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
535 regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
292 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
237 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
522 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

[P, 111 b] Wukchumni

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He 845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an 823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of 789 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
● 522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up
522 and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Wakaachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs,
[465 necklaces, and headbands were added. The
431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning.
[237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Goh·l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n·š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´načı) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon·k's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh·l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai·č, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.---At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.---E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.---This E.M. saw Čokon·k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.---A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.209 9] Chukchansi

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her [522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians [535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" (presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

W Y [P. 216 9] NS25

342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to W Y sit or sleep, though the preferred place was [574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y There was no village plan, or defined [361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W at the ridgepole between the last rows of Y thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, ob- [352] tainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [237] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [439] though these often had to be obtained by trade [522] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [513] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

[P. 247b] Western Mono NS 25

W
Y
796
825
751
756

On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonik and Pušlilin each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ʾin, maiya ʾin." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

W
Y
[522]

Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu ʾdum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

Coyote clowning.---Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[394] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahum ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[394] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
796
756

Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on down-feathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. [522]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

●[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That-sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.